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ADDING NEW SPICES TO DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

**BRAZIL, INDIA, CHINA AND SOUTH AFRICA IN HEALTH,
AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SECURITY**

Tom De Bruyn

Project coordination: dr. Huib Huyse

*First working paper in the series “Challenging the Status Quo?
The Impact of the Emerging Economies on the
Global Governance of Development Cooperation”*

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SAMENVATTING

Dit onderzoeksrapport is het eerste van een reeks studies die de effecten van de zogenaamde economische groeilanden op ontwikkelingssamenwerkingsbeleid bestuderen. Het rapport beschrijft op basis van een literatuurstudie de kenmerken (de geschiedenis en de onderliggende principes; de actoren; en de modaliteiten, beleidsinstrumenten en domeinen) van de ontwikkelingssamenwerking van Brazilië, India, China en Zuid Afrika, in de sectoren van gezondheid en landbouw en voedselzekerheid. Elk hoofdstuk behandelt een land.

Samenvattend kunnen we stellen dat het beleid en de activiteiten van deze vier landen in de twee sectoren in grote mate wordt bepaald door hun algemene beleid inzake ontwikkelingssamenwerking. Onderstaande tabel vat de conclusies samen.

Table 0.1 *Belangrijkste kenmerken van ontwikkelingssamenwerking van Brazilië, India, China en Zuid Afrika*

	Brazilië	India	China	Zuid Afrika
Hulp (in US\$)	Schattingen variëren tussen 362 miljoen (2009) en 1,2 miljard (2010)	Schattingen variëren tussen 639 miljoen (2009) en 1,48 miljard (2007)	Schattingen variëren tussen 2 miljard (2010) en 3,1 miljard (2008)	Veel verwarring, schattingen rond US\$ 100 miljoen
Institutionele overheids-structuur (belangrijkste actor)	Gefragmenteerd; uitvoering in handen van sectorale actoren (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken en Agência Brasileira do Cooperação)	Zeer gefragmenteerd en onderhevig aan veranderingsprocessen (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken)	Zeer gecentraliseerde structuur, maar de uitvoering is gedecentraliseerd (Departement van Buitenlandse Hulp en het Ministerie van Handel)	In een veranderingsproces (Departement van Internationale Relaties en Samenwerking en in de toekomst het Zuid-Afrikaanse Partner-agentschap)
Principes	Solidariteit, wederzijdse baten, vraaggestuurd, geen voorwaarden, geen inmenging, erkenning van lokale expertise	Solidariteit, wederzijdse baten	Gelijkheid, wederzijdse baten, respect voor soevereiniteit, geen voorwaarden, nadruk op zelfredzaamheid, zelfde levensstandaarden voor Chinese en lokale deskundigen	Solidariteit, wederzijdse baten, 'Ubuntu'
Belangrijkste financiële instrumenten	Concessionele leningen en giften	Exportkredieten, concessionele leningen en giften. Integratie van commerciële en hulpfinanciering	Giften, kredieten, leningen vrij van interesten, concessionele leningen, maar zogenaamde andere Officiële Financieringsstromen belangrijker dan Officiële Ontwikkelingshulp. Integratie van commerciële en hulpfinanciering	Giften en leningen
Belangrijkste modaliteiten	Technische assistentie, beurzen, humanitaire hulp, wereldwijde beleidsbeïnvloeding	Technische assistentie, beurzen, humanitaire hulp	'Complete projecten', technische assistentie, uitrusting, capaciteitsopbouw noodhulp, vrijwilligersprogramma's	Projecten, technische assistentie, humanitaire hulp
Belangrijkste soorten van samenwerking	Bilateraal, multilateraal en trilateraal	Bilateraal	Bilateraal	Bilateraal, multilateraal, trilateraal
Landen	Latijns Amerika en Afrikaanse landen (vooral Portugeessprekende)	Buurlanden en Afrika	Wereldwijd, maar Afrika in toenemende mate	Afrika
Belangrijkste sectoren	Gezondheid, onderwijs, landbouw, sociale zekerheid	Landbouw, infrastructuur, economische sectoren en ICT	Infrastructuur, productieve sectoren, landbouw, energie, landbouw en gezondheidszorg	Post-conflict resolutie, vredesopbouw, regionale integratie

Sectorspecifieke informatie, en dan vooral inzake budgetten, is maar gedeeltelijk beschikbaar. De volgende tabel somt de belangrijkste bevindingen op.

	Brazilië	India	China	Zuid Afrika
Hulp voor gezondheids-, landbouw- en voedsel-zekerheid	Geen informatie beschikbaar over de totale budgetten voor specifieke sectoren voor de landen. Enkel gedeeltelijke informatie over bepaalde projecten, specifieke soorten van hulp en leningen.			
Belangrijkste overheids-actoren	Gefragmenteerd, maar de belangrijkste actoren zijn Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, Agência Brasileira do Cooperação, Ministerie van Gezondheid, Fiocruz voor gezondheid, Ministerie van Landbouw en Veeteelt, Ministerie van Agrarische Ontwikkeling en Embrapa voor landbouw	Onduidelijk, alhoewel Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken een belangrijke rol speelt	Gecentraliseerd, Departement van Buitenlandse Hulp, Ministerie van handel, Ministerie van gezondheid en van landbouw	Departement van Internationale Relaties en Samenwerking en in de toekomst het Zuid-Afrikaanse Partner-agentschap
Belangrijkste modaliteiten	Technische assistentie, beurzen, onderzoek en ontwikkeling, trilaterale samenwerkingsprojecten, export van binnenlandse sociale programma's, wereldwijde diplomatie	Krediet, concessionele leningen, beurzen	Complete projecten, krediet, technische assistentie (landbouw-demonstratiecentra, medische en landbouwteams), concessionele leningen, beurzen, onderzoek	Infrastructuur
Belangrijkste domeinen in landbouw en voedsel-zekerheid	Landbouwproductie, agro-business, kleinschalige landbouw, voedselprogramma's katoen	Katoen, 'frugal' innovatie, ICT	Landbouwproductie, agro-business, kleinschalige landbouw	
Belangrijkste domeinen in gezondheid	Infrastructuur (ziekenhuizen, farmaceutische fabrieken), HIV/AIDS, medicijnen, openbare gezondheidszorg, tabakscontrole	ICT, telegeneeskunde, frugal innovation, aanmaak en verschaffen van medicijnen	Malariacontrole, reproductieve gezondheidszorg, aanmaak en verschaffen van medicijnen	HIV/AIDS

TREFWOORDEN

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Het onderzoek dat aan de basis ligt van dit rapport kadert in het programma ‘Steunpunten voor Beleidsrelevant Onderzoek’ dat gefinancierd wordt door de Vlaamse Overheid. Wij danken de Vlaamse Overheid voor de financiële steun en interesse in het onderzoek.

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PREFACE

This paper presents a literature review of what is known about the characteristics of development cooperation in the sectors health and agriculture and food security (AFS) of four so-called emerging powers or economies: Brazil, India, China and South Africa. This is the first paper in a series within the four year research (2012-2015) 'Challenging the status-quo? The impact of the emerging economies on the global governance of development cooperation'. The research is commissioned by the Flemish Government and framed within the Flemish Policy Research Centre for Foreign Affairs, International Entrepreneurship and Development Cooperation and carried out by the Belgian Research Institute for Work and Society (HIVA).

In recent years, Brazil, India, China and South Africa have gained considerable academic, policy and media attention for their activities in development cooperation. Some authors argue that these countries employ innovative and alternative approaches to development cooperation than the traditional, i.e. OECD-DAC donors. For instance, the approaches of the BICS would be more suited to the realities and context of African countries and based on their own solutions and experiences to address their own development challenges and the partnership would be equal in nature, instead of a donor-recipient relationship. Other authors question these conclusions and frame the efforts of the BICS in political self-interest. However, there is a shortage of on the ground tangible evidence to support or rebut these conclusions, especially in the above-mentioned sectors and countries.

Hence, the research examines the characteristics (actors, motivation, objectives, means, methods) of Brazil, India, China and South Africa (BICS) and their effects on the organisation and methods of development cooperation in general and western donors in particular. Specific attention is given to development cooperation in health in Mozambique, and agriculture and food security in Malawi. These are among the primary focus areas and partner countries of the Flemish development cooperation. The specific objectives of the research include: (1) to identify the activities and of the BICS in health in Mozambique and agriculture and food security in Malawi; (2) to identify lessons from the BICS' experiences and approaches to render the Flemish development cooperation more effective; (3) to identify avenues for future information sharing, coordination or collaboration with the one or more of the BICS; (4) to inform the Malawian and Mozambican government; (5) to enhance academic knowledge.

These first two papers are literature reviews. This paper presents four country studies and looks for the BICS' involvement in health and agriculture and food security (AFS), while the second research paper describes the main features of these countries' general development cooperation approaches. The third and fourth research papers focus on the involvement of the BICS in the agriculture and food security sector in Malawi and the health sector in Mozambique. The current and future results of the research are presented on the website of the Policy Research Centre.

To stay within the metaphor of the title of this paper, one could say that development cooperation has been for decades a typical western dish, using primarily European, Northern American and Australian ingredients. In the last decade the menu has diversified with recipes using primarily spices from India, Brazil, South Africa and China. This paper describes the dishes, recipes and spices used by these four countries. Future studies within this four year research will complement the information from existing cooking books with the exploration of the actual taste of the dishes.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Agência Brasileira de Cooperação - Brazilian Cooperation Agency
AFS	Agriculture and Food Security
ANC	African National Congress
ARF	African Renaissance Fund
ARV	Antiretroviral
AU	African Union
BICS	Brazil, India, China and South Africa
BNDES	Brazilian Development Bank
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CPLP	Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DFID	Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FOCAC	Forum on China - Africa Cooperation
GAVI	Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation
GFATM	Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
GHP	Global health partnership
GNI	Gross National Income
IBSA	India, Brazil, South Africa
IDC	Industrial Development Cooperation
IIDCA	India International Development Cooperation Agency
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ITEC	Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation
MEA	Ministry of Economic Affairs
MRE	Ministério das Relações Exteriores
NAM	Non-Alignment Movement
NEPAD	New partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRC	People's Republic of China
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADPA	South African Development Partnership Agency
SSC	South-South Cooperation
TB	Tuberculosis
TCDC	Technical Cooperation among Development Countries
TRIPS	Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFAO	United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WFP	World Food programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade development cooperation has been heavily criticised by various authors and institutions. The criticism mainly entailed so-called 'traditional' development actors, *i.e.* member states of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), governmental and multilateral donors and Non-governmental organisations (NGOs). These players have increasingly witnessed the entry of new actors in their domain, resulting not only in new possibilities for cooperation, but also in competition and even conflict (Develtere, 2012). Brazil, India, China and South Africa (the BICS) are among the most talked about countries that challenge the 'hegemony' of the traditional development donors with their own international cooperation. Despite increasing attention among academicians and policy makers, little tangible and evidence based information is available about the characteristics and importance of these actors for development cooperation, neither about the match between discourse and practice of the BICS. To address this knowledge gap a four year research entitled 'Challenging the status-quo? The impact of the emerging economies on the global governance of development cooperation' is carried out between 2012 and 2015, funded by the Flemish Government. It includes a comparative case study research in which the governmental development cooperation approaches and the importance of the BICS for national governmental and traditional donor actors are examined in the health sector in Mozambique and the agricultural and food security sector in Malawi. These sectors and countries were chosen on the basis of an initial literature study review and mail survey among academic and policy experts. In addition, the selection had to take into account the potential relevance for the Flemish Government (Flemish development cooperation focuses on South Africa, Mozambique and Malawi).¹

The findings of the research will be presented in a series of papers, of which this is the first. Before venturing in the case studies in Malawi and Mozambique, it is important to have an understanding of the development cooperation characteristics of the BICS in the health and agriculture and food security sector in general.² The paper presents the results of the search for information on these sectors in the literature and in policy documents. However, country and sector specific information is not easy to come by. Many studies have been focusing in first instance on describing the general development cooperation policies of the BICS or of the separate countries. Only recently interest has been given to sector studies. The search is also inhibited by the limited amount of policy documents of some countries (esp. India and South Africa) or of the limited interest in these sectors (e.g. South Africa). Moreover, the literature and policy document review showed that the sectorial approaches of the BICS are to a very large extent part and parcel of the general development cooperation approach of the BICS. To be able to understand the BICS' development cooperation in the selected sectors (or absence in these sectors) it was necessary to give considerable attention to the overall development cooperation policies.

¹ The overall methodology and methods of this four year research will be the subject of a future paper.

² The second paper entitled "Challenging Development Cooperation?" gives a general overview of the characteristics of the development cooperation approaches of the non-DAC development actors, and elaborates on some of the most important issues. The third and fourth research papers entail a description of the BICS involvement in respectively the agriculture and food security sector in Malawi and the health sector in Mozambique.

The paper is divided in four country chapters and it aims to give the reader an understanding of the main features of each country's development cooperation in health and agriculture and food security (AFS). The chapters are roughly organised in three headings (historic evolution and principles; actors; and modalities, instruments and thematic areas), while the subheadings highlight the most important characteristics. The conclusion gives a schematic overview of the BICS' development cooperation (1) in general and (2) in the selected sectors. The second research paper builds further on the findings of this paper and focuses on similarities and differences between the BICS development cooperation.

Sources of information

General overviews on the health sector are given by a 2012 publication of the Global Health Strategies Initiatives, an international non-profit organisation that lobbies for better access to health services and technologies in developing countries. The Future Agricultures Consortium, a collaboration of several international research institutes, provided valuable information on AFS.

For China there is a large body of literature. Brautigam is by no means the only researcher who has sought out fact from fiction in recent years and deconstructed persistent rumours, but she is arguably the most cited or influential author. Interestingly, the international academic literature on Chinese development cooperation is still dominated by non-Chinese researchers - although this is changing rapidly, an evolution that also the aforementioned authors try to stimulate. This is a marked difference when comparing the literature on Brazil, South Africa or India, where also domestic specialists are guiding the international debate. In this paper we will not go into possible explanations (language; different academic practices; political system), but it is an important issue to keep in mind when analyzing the available information.

Brazil's development cooperation is receiving increasing attention. Besides official governmental documents, country-specific information sources were amongst other given by Lidia Cabral and her colleagues for agriculture and Russo *et al.* and articles of the Brazilian health journal RECIIS for health.

India and South Africa are much less researched and documented. For instance, there is a great lack of literature about Indian cooperation in agriculture, notwithstanding the fact that it is a relatively important sector in India's total development cooperation. Partly this is due to the relatively new international attention, as well as the renewed attention for the policy field in these countries, and - for South Africa - the limited attention for AFS and health in their development cooperation. Publications of Sachin Chaturvedi were an important source for this paper for India and Vickers for South Africa.

Terminology: development cooperation

This paper focuses on development cooperation, but actually it might be more correct to say: 'in the policy field which has become known as development cooperation in the 'DAC world'. 'Development cooperation' is indeed a western concept, although as Mawdsley (2012: 81) asserts, 'different actors use [development cooperation] in different ways, and there is no agreed or single definition'. One of the common features of the BICS is that they do not belong to the DAC. Of the 34 members of the OECD, 23 countries are member of the Development Assistance Committee (the EU being the 24th member). Besides South Korea and Japan, all members are from the West. Since

its foundation the OECD-DAC has been central in setting the discourse and modalities in development cooperation. As such the DAC countries and older multilateral and civilateral organisations are considered by some authors to belong to the traditional development world and the non-DAC countries as non-traditional (Mawdsley, 2012). This paper intends to identify how the BICS understand this concept (and what they offer as alternatives) and consequently which actors and approaches exist that are aimed at promoting political, social, economic or technical cooperation with Latin American, African or Asian countries in order to achieve development. What kind of development is dependent on the definition given by the actors involved? Importantly, the focus of the paper is thus not only development assistance or aid, as understood as Official Development Aid (ODA), but goes beyond this and entails also other kinds of cooperation and assistance³.

Important to note is that Brazil, India, China and South Africa are referred to as 'BICS'. However, we stress that this does not at all imply that these countries act or should be seen as a homogeneous block or entity. The only reason why this abbreviation is used in this paper is for reasons of brevity. For the same reason, 'the BICS' is used, meaning 'the countries belonging to group of countries of Brazil, India, China and South Africa', but admittedly a construction that can be contested from a grammatical point of view. To avoid confusion with the acronym BRICS or BRIC, we emphasise that the Russian Federation (the letter R in the acronym) is not included in this study and the four year research. This decisions is not only made for reasons of scale (else the research would include yet an extra country), but also because Brazil, India, China and South Africa all share an important history of receivers of aid and share a number of similar development challenges (Kragelund, 2010).

³ In the second research paper: "Challenging Development Cooperation?" these issues are elaborated upon.

1. BRAZIL

1.1 Historic evolution and principles

1.1.1 Long history, but intensification from 2003 onwards

Brazil has gained an increasing amount of attention in recent years for its efforts in development cooperation, and more specifically in health and agricultural assistance. This might mask the fact that Brazil has in fact decades of experience in cooperating with other developing countries. Already in the 1950s it funded projects and programmes in Africa and Latin America (Costa Vaz & Inoue, 2007). In the following decades it signed bilateral agreements with several countries on these continents and manifested itself as a major player within international institutions and initiatives, especially those that represented the Third World (Vidigal, 2010). Development cooperation became even more important within Brazilian foreign policy after the Buenos Aires Action Plan of 1978 which focused on Technical Cooperation among Development Countries (TCDC) and introduced the concept of horizontal cooperation (Sato, 2010). Before 1978 Brazil had approved 28 projects involving technical cooperation between developing countries, while in the 1980s this figure went up to 600.

However, the current policy shows indeed marked differences with that of the previous decade, states (Vidigal, 2010). The major turning point in Brazil's development cooperation came in 2003, with the presidency of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Although also his predecessors used development cooperation as a foreign policy instrument, it is during Lula's reign that it was a central element of forging economic bilateral ties with developing countries and gaining global economic and political power. According to the same author, this process cannot be separated from Brazil's wider social and economic context. In the 2000s the country's economy flourished and the government developed and executed a number of ground-breaking social policies to redistribute part of this economic growth.

1.1.2 Horizontal cooperation (in theory) and pursuit of national interests

Brazil's assistance in health and AFS is guided by the principles of Brazil's overall development cooperation policy. The country inserts itself in a horizontal cooperation (as opposed to the vertical donor-recipient relationships of the DAC countries), which is mutually beneficial for all partners (Cabral & Shankland, 2012; Inoue & Costa Vaz, 2012). Its central principles include (ABC, 2011):

- joint diplomacy based on solidarity;
- demand driven action, based on demands from developing countries;
- recognition of local experience and adaptation of Brazilian experience;
- non-conditionality;
- no interference with commercial interests of profit;
- respect of sovereignty of partner countries.

To what extent the practices on the field match the official discourses is still subject of debate and ongoing research and needs further scrutiny. In agriculture, researchers attached to the Future Agricultures Consortium are trying to shed light on this issue. Another author, Torronteguy (2010), has examined the health component in 176 bilateral agreements (of which 167 were in force at the time of the research)

between Brazil and the Portuguese speaking African countries (PALOP). He concluded that the claim of horizontal cooperation should be nuanced (*ab ibid.*: 60).

'It is true that there is horizontality, since there are no conditions in the agreement, nor the debt of African countries, unlike what often occurs in the North-South cooperation. However, the content of the planned activities in the bilateral acts indicates a one-way path, by which African country assumes a passive position in the transference - which therefore can hardly be called an exchange of knowledge. This one-way path indicates that horizontality is not complete in the current model of South-South cooperation implemented by Brazil. Therefore, it is concluded that the current Brazil-PALOP cooperation is formally horizontal and substantially vertical.'

According to the author this is however not necessary negative, as long as the Brazilian intention is to overcome social inequality and strive for sustainability. According to him the Brazilian approach 'reveals a more balanced situation than that of the North-South cooperation' (*ab ibid.*: 60). However, it is unclear on which he bases this conclusion. Other authors argue that Brazil's policy caters in first instance for national interests, more specifically to gain importance and power on the international governance level, including a seat in the UN Security Council to forge economic ties with other countries and to promote private investment, and to raise the image of the country (GHSI, 2012).

1.2 Actors

1.2.1 Sector-specialised institutions are central for implementation

Brazilian international cooperation is very fragmented. According to GHSI (2012) more than 65 entities would be involved in this policy domain. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE) is the main agency responsible for the formulation of Brazil's foreign policy and international cooperation strategies, but also other sector-specific ministries develop their own strategies and have their own implementing agencies. However, Brazil does not have a legislation regulating the provision of development cooperation. Brazil is not allowed to give contributions for the benefit of other countries. This limits seriously the financial instruments used, as well as the performance of its development cooperation abroad, argue Cabral and Weinstock (2010).

The Agência Brasileira de Cooperação – Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), residing under the MRE, is the official coordinating agency for the Brazilian international cooperation - incoming as well as outgoing. Importantly, it refers to technical cooperation, which only represents a small part of Brazil's international cooperation. The ABC aims to contribute to the strengthening of Brazil's relations with other Southern countries; the transfer of technical know-how; the promotion of capacity building; and the strengthening of governmental institutions (Hubner, 2012). The task of the ABC is to link agencies or other actors that request Brazilian cooperation with the appropriate Brazilian institutes specialised in the matter. Typically, projects and programmes originate from presidential or ministerial visits to partner countries, followed by diplomatic exchanges between Brazil and other countries or from specific meetings organised by the Brazilian government on certain topics. These are followed up by technical prospection visits organised by the ABC and a number of specialised institutions. Initiatives proposed to the ABC are evaluated against their probable

effects, the likelihood that they would improve living standards, the promotion of sustainable development and the contribution to social development. Attention is also given to the procedures to ensure the quality of the project negotiation, evaluation and management (Vidigal, 2010). In practice, the principle of demand drivenness must be nuanced. Brazilian officials actually offer a range of options on these missions (Cabral & Shankland, 2012).

The ABC does not have financial autonomy or political power. Cabral and Shankland (2012: 6) describe it therefore as a 'virtual department'. Some authors (for instance Burgers, 2011) even claim that the ABC with a staff of 160 - would not have sufficient resources and capacities to coordinate all international technical cooperation demands and efforts. The ABC does not have a large formal representation outside of Brazil, thus at the country level contacts are mostly made through the individual projects and diplomatic channels. While in the western donor agencies, development experts move to the recipient country, in the Brazilian international cooperation sector-specific specialists manage or carry out the projects (Glennie, 2012).

Also in the health and the agricultural sectors technical cooperation is fragmented. The Ministry of Health designs the health cooperation policies, while the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation, also known as Fiocruz, is the main implementing partner (Almeida, 2010). Fiocruz, erected in 1900, is a world-reknown public health institution specialised in training, research, management of health programs and production of pharmaceuticals. It has about 20 research and technical institutes and units in Brazil, and opened an office in Maputo in 2008. In addition to Fiocruz, a specific office within the Ministry of Health and the Brazilian National Health Surveillance Agency also carry out international cooperation activities, while the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science and Technology support activities indirectly (Russo *et al.*, 2013).

In agriculture more than 20 Brazilian institutions are involved in international cooperation (Cabral & Shankland, 2012). In addition several ministries are involved, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply and the Ministry of Agrarian Development (the latter focuses specifically on food security). Embrapa (Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária) is the most important implementing agency. It has been involved in development cooperation since 1973 and is structured as a network of about 50 different research institutions across Brazil. However, it is by no means the only implementing agency. For instance in one project, more than 10 institutions might be involved (such as 16 in the Pro-Savanna see further in Mozambique).

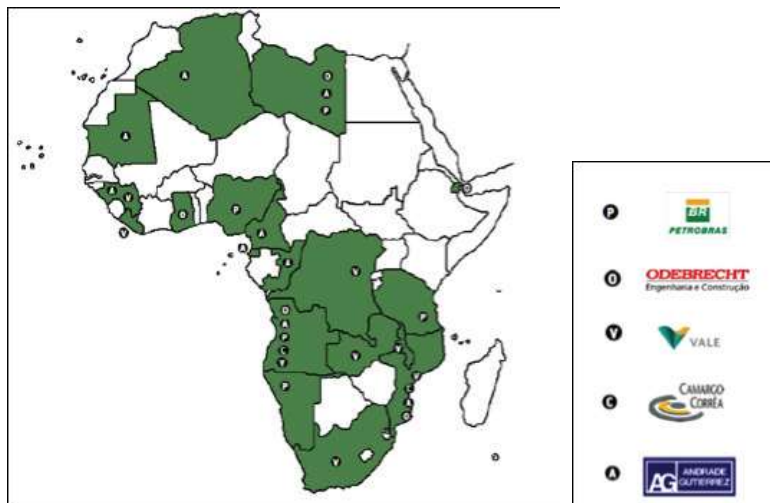
Another important governmental actor is the Brazilian development bank (BNDES). The Bank supports Brazilian private and public companies that want to expand their activities (and especially in resource extraction) abroad. In essence BNDES supports tied aid: countries can get loans for projects in which Brazilian companies are involved (Zilla & Haig, 2012 - cited in Hubner 2012).

1.2.2 The importance of multinational companies and the limited role of civil society

Brazilian multinational companies, including mining companies such as Vale, infrastructure companies such as Odebrecht and oil companies such as Petrobras, are active in Africa and might have a significant impact on the social-economic development of certain regions in the coming years. (Ogier, 2012; Chichava *et al.*,

2013, see Figure 1.1). Since development cooperation is seen as an instrument of the pursuit of Brazil's foreign and economic policies it is therefore important to see how the interests of these companies influence the overall development cooperation policies. Unfortunately, research on this issue is still limited. In health, the Brazilian private sector has not been very active in health research due to the already relatively high investments by the government. Public sector Brazilian manufacturers are key to the Brazilian health system, since they provide affordable medicines and carry out research. Together Fiocruz Bio-Manguinhos and Butantan are responsible for 89% of all vaccines sales of the Ministry of Health (MIHR, 2005).

Figure 1.1 Large Brazilian companies in Africa 2011



Source Chichava *et al.*, 2013: 9

Brazilian civil society organisations are engaged by the government (*i.e.* the presidential secretary) in international cooperation, but there is not much information on their involvement in the health and agricultural sectors. This might actually come as a surprise, since civil society has been an instrumental player in the development of the domestic social and health programmes that have fuelled Brazilian prominence at the international level (Campolina, 2012).

1.3 Modalities, instruments and focus areas

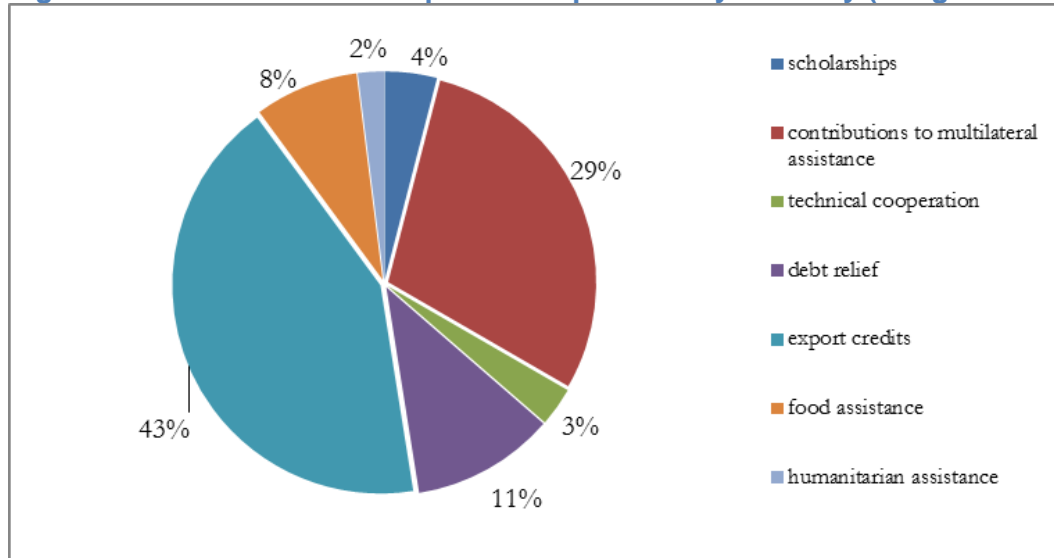
1.3.1 Relatively small budget

It is very difficult to find reliable figures about Brazil's total development cooperation budget and more specifically figures for health and AFS assistance. As with the other countries in this study, Brazil does not report its ODA and other funds to the OECD-DAC, and it seems that even within the Brazilian government itself figures are not readily available and a lot of confusion exists. Different authors report different figures and different shares per modality. The available estimates for ODA hover around US\$ 360 million (IPEA, 2010 and website of the Global Humanitarian Assistance), but there are also estimates up to US\$ 1.2 billion in commitments (the Economist, 2010; John de Sousa, 2010). In comparison, Brazil received US\$ 661 million of ODA in 2010.

1.3.2 *Exporting own claimed success via technical cooperation in social sectors and agriculture in Lusophone Africa*

Brazil uses a mix of modalities (see Figure 1.2). Export credits are an important instrument to promote the investments of Brazilian companies and goods, while multilateral cooperation should strengthen the countries role in international institutions.

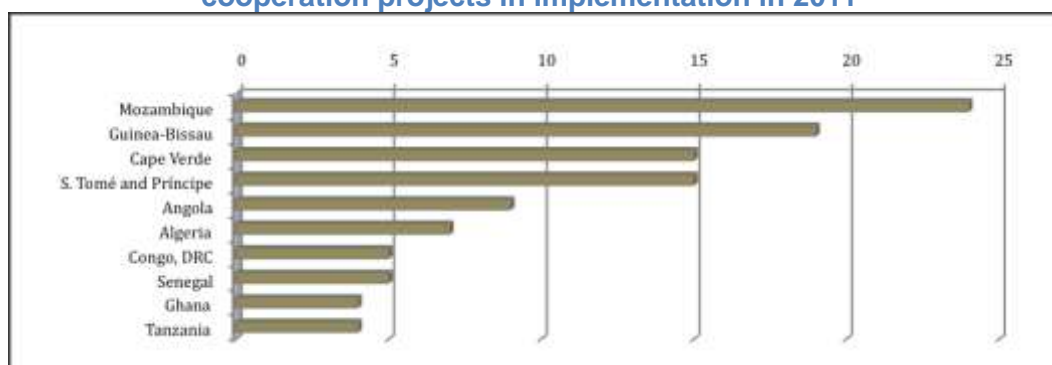
Figure 1.2 Brazilian development cooperation by modality (budget 2005-2009)



Source Cabral & Shankland, 2012: 6

The most visible part of Brazil's development cooperation is however its technical assistance. In monetary terms this is actually very small, taking up only 3% of the total budget for the period 2005-2009, but it has captured most of the international attention (Cabral & Shankland, 2012). While OECD-DAC countries' development cooperation is characterised by the provision of loans and grants, sometimes via budget and sector support, the Brazilians are said to export their own claimed successful answers to domestic social and economic problems to countries which share a similar historical, epidemiologic, ecologic background or/and language (Cabral & Shankland, 2012). Government officials and sector specific technicians cooperate with their African peers to share experiences and modify the Brazilian know-how in order to fit the local context. Brazilian international technical cooperation focuses primarily on Africa (50% of cooperation in 2009), Latin America (23%) and the Caribbean (12%). In 2010 the figure for Africa amounted to 57%. Especially technical cooperation is aimed at the African Portuguese speaking countries (PALOP), which take up 74% of all technical African assistance in 2010. Within this group, Mozambique takes the most prominent place (Cabral & Shankland, 2012, based on ABC 2011, see Figure 1.3). The Portuguese language is an important explanatory factor in Brazil's geographical focus in general. For example within the health sector the Portuguese speaking countries (CPLP) have adopted a model based on the joint development of a Strategic Plan of Health Cooperation. The Plan identifies ways to ameliorate the health system and to assure universal access to health care in the member countries of the CPLP. Technical support is provided by Fiocruz and the Portuguese Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (Buss & Ferreira, 2010).

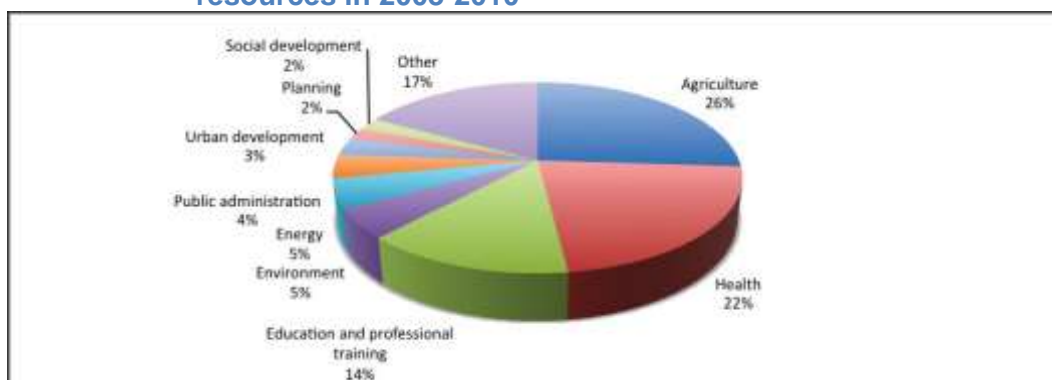
Figure 1.3 Top ten beneficiaries of Brazilian technical cooperation, number of cooperation projects in implementation in 2011



Source Cabral & Shankland, 2012: 9, based on ABC, 2011

Agriculture, health and education are the most important sectors of Brazilian's technical assistance, representing respectively 22%, 16% and 12% of the budget between 2003 and 2010. In Africa, the importance of agriculture even amounted to 26% and health to 22% (Cabral & Shankland, 2012 - see Figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4 Brazilian technical assistance in Africa, sectorial distribution of resources in 2003-2010



Source Cabral & Shankland, 2012, based on ABC, 2011

For technical health assistance, absolute estimates compiled by Russo *et al.* (2013) range from US\$ 12 million, to US\$ 14 million in the 5 Portuguese speaking African countries alone between 2006 and 2009. Again, these figures are still relatively low compared to other major health donors.

Based on their own experiences, Brazil promotes intensely different strategies to reduce dependency on foreign technology (especially regarding pharmaceuticals and biotechnology in health), expertise and interests. In practice this implies setting up own factories, developing local research capacity, and promoting collaboration between local health and agricultural institutions (Russo *et al.*, 2013; Cabral & Shankland, 2012). The development of master and other courses at universities and research institutes in partner countries and the provision of scholarships for short or longer stays at Brazilian institutes are an important type of cooperation. As Cabral and Shankland (2012) point out, technical cooperation is evolving towards more complex programmes. Instead of workshops, study visits and training, larger and longer running programmes are set up, such as Bolsa Familia (see below). Moreover, a mix of modalities is

introduced, such as a combination of conventional technical cooperation with a credit facility to acquire machinery.

1.3.3 ... and via global advocacy

Besides technical cooperation with specific countries, Brazilian development cooperation is characterised by a strong focus on global diplomacy and advocacy for certain issues. This is especially apparent in the health sector, where Brazil has adopted a health diplomacy approach (Almeida *et al.*, 2010; Buss, 2011; Buss & Ferreira, 2010 and Russo *et al.*, 2013). Health diplomacy refers to the interplay of diplomacy, foreign policy interests and global health (Feldbaum & Michaud, 2010 for alternative definitions). There are a number of authors, as Russo *et al.* (2013) have identified, who argue that Brazil uses its health cooperation in this sense as a soft power tool not only to influence the global health debate but also to support its foreign policy interests.

Brazil became a forerunner in health diplomacy, as Vidigal (2010) asserts. On the international level, Brazil has lobbied strongly in the UN and the WTO for ameliorating the access to medicines and health care. In this context, Brazil has set up the International Technical Cooperation Network in 2005, to jointly lobby for flexibilities in the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) (GHSI, 2012). Brazil forged academic alliances, such as the Global Health Education Consortium (2010), the Consortium of Universities for Global Health (2010) and the Consortium for Global Health Diplomacy (2010), (Buss & Ferreira, 2010). Furthermore it has been lobbying for a Framework Convention on Tobacco control (GHSI, 2012).

Multilateral cooperation can also be regarded as an instrument in global diplomacy. The government finances the Global Fund, the GAVI alliance and the UN (especially the WHO, GHSI, 2012 & Deen, 2012). Brazil has given US\$ 106 million to these agencies between 2006 and 2009. According to GHSI (2012), the most prominent initiative is UNITAID. This was launched by Brazil, Chile, Norway and France. It developed a funding mechanism, based amongst other instruments on airline fees, to facilitate access to essential medicines.

1.3.4 Specific attention for HIV/AIDS and nutrition

Due to the successes in dealing with the domestic HIV/AIDS problematic, Brazil is solicited by other countries to export its solutions. In 1996 the Brazilian government guaranteed universal access to antiretroviral (ARV) treatment for people with HIV. Its strategy consisted of the development of local production of generic HIV medicines, lobby at the global level for a decrease in prizes of HIV/AIDS drugs and prevention campaigns. This resulted in a lowering of 50% of the AIDS mortality figures in the following six years (GHSI, 2012). At the 14th international AIDS conference in Barcelona, Brazil presented its successes and started to explore ways in which to share its strategies with other countries, first with other Latin American countries and later on within Africa. In 2005 it set up the International Centre for Technical Cooperation on HIV/AIDS (CICT), a joint initiative of the Brazilian government and UNAIDS. It aims to promote sustainable solutions to the HIV/AIDS problematic via South-South technical cooperation and has collaborated with 19 countries since 2011. A last initiative that received considerable media attention is the creation of a US\$ 26 million ARV factory in Mozambique that should produce ARV and other medicines by 2014. The ultimate objective is to reduce dependency of foreign

medicines and to be able to export drugs abroad. Fiocruz is the main Brazilian agency involved (GHSI, 2012).

Similarly, Brazil exports its claimed successful programmes in nutrition to fight child hunger and domestic poverty. Two major programs include the Bolsa Familia and the Brazilian network of human milk banks.

The Bolsa Familia is part of the broader national programme, Fome Zero/Zero Hunger. Families are stimulated to send their children to school and to health care by providing cash and nutritional subsidies. In the last five years, the Ministry of Social Development - with the support of traditional donors, such as the World Bank and DFID - has implemented 23 Bolsa Familia like programmes in more than 50 countries. In 2008, the UNDP international Poverty Centre even created the Africa-Brazil Cooperation Program on Social Development (GHSI, 2012).

The human milk bank programme promotes breastfeeding and collects at the same time mother milk and provides these to children without access to this source of nutrition. From 2003 onwards it set up milk banks in other Latin American countries in collaboration with the respective governments. In 2011, Brazil has signed agreements with Mozambique, Cape Verde and Angola to set up human milk banks, provide technical training and equipment within two years. Fiocruz is in charge of the implementation (GHSI, 2012; Ortiz, 2012).

The Brazilian government supports the development of family farming projects through the More Food Programme (Programa Mais Alimentos África) of the Ministry of Agrarian Development. This features in an engagement of Brazil towards the FAO to assist African countries to obtain food sovereignty. In origin this is a large national program, representing investments of US\$ 2.3 billion since 2008 in Brazil. During the Brazil-Africa dialogue on Food Safety, Hunger Alleviation and Rural Development in 2010, it was decided to extend this to countries abroad. The programme includes technical guidance from Brazilian specialists and of equipment. There are some financial conditions attached. The Foreign Trade Board approved a line of credit for 2011-2012 of US\$ 640 million. The funds come from the Bank of Brazil. Producers exporting material will have to charge the same prices, and the quality will be guaranteed by the government of Brazil. Ghana and Zimbabwe are the first participants, but also other countries have showed their interest (Carrieri, 2011 - see also Cabral & Shankland, 2012).

In order to strengthen local food markets and improve the food security and prevent future food crises, Brazil has set its own national Food Purchase Programme (Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos). In origin a Brazilian programme of the Ministry of Social Development (MDS). This programme entails the buying of agricultural products from smallholders and delivering them to vulnerable population groups, incl. children and youth, through school feeding programmes. It is a key aspect of Brazil's Zero Hunger Programme (of which also the Bolsa Familia is a part). In collaboration with the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and the World Food Programme (WFP), this programme will be implemented in five African countries, incl. Malawi and Mozambique. Brazil funds the program for US\$ 2,375,000. The FAO is in charge of the production side and the WFP for the purchase and delivery of the products. Brazil will also deliver know-how (FAO, 2012).

The Brazilian Cotton-4 project, created in 2006, is a cooperation project with Mali, Burkina Faso, Chad and Benin. Embrapa collaborates with research institutes from these countries to adapt the cotton generic material of Brazil and in order to improve the productivity and quality of cotton production and to enhance research capacities (Cabral & Shankland, 2012).

1.3.5 Rising interest in trilateral cooperation

A relatively recent feature of Brazilian development cooperation is the attention for trilateral development projects (Bliss *et al.*, 2012). Trilateral cooperation represents one fifth of all the ABC's international cooperation projects and this number will probably increase in the future (Cabral & Weinstock, 2010a). Brazil's cooperation is mostly in kind. Japan and the ILO are the main partners. In total, the ABC manages 88 initiatives in 27 countries. Mozambique is one of the partner countries. According to Romero (2012), Northern donors want to engage in trilateral partnerships with Brazil to build relationships with the country, reducing costs in the recipient country; and/or to improve development policies and expertise. The author remarks that northern donors assert that administrative challenges render this cooperation difficult.

One of the best known examples is the ProSavana programme. This is a trilateral cooperation programme between Japan, Brazil and Mozambique. It originated from the G8 meeting in Aquila (Global L'Aquila Food Security initiative) and from a similar cooperation between Japan and Brazil in Brazil. Embrapa is the Brazilian coordinator. The programme aims to turn parts of the savannah in to highly productive arable land and also addresses food security. The three components are: research, rural extension, and local area development planning. The project implementation started in 2011, and already US\$ 13 million has been pledged by the three partners for a period of 5 years. The overall project will last 20 years at least. Additional funds will come from Japan and Mozambique (Cabral & Shankland, 2012).

2. INDIA

2.1 Historic evolution and principles

2.1.1 *India's development cooperation rooted in the Non-Alignment Movement*

India's health and AFS cooperation is not only smaller in scope but also far less documented than that of Brazil and China. India's general development cooperation policies may reveal characteristics of the country's efforts in health and AFS. Although India's current development cooperation policy is distinct from that of the last century, some of its characteristics are rooted in its past. India's first development cooperation efforts and policies already date from right after the country's independence. Prime Minister Nehru was instrumental in the development of these fundamental principles which are also inspired by Mahatma Gandhi and the ideology of peaceful co-existence (Chaturvedi, 2012b). The first foreign cooperation efforts concentrated on neighbouring countries, such as the provision of loans to support infrastructure in Myanmar and Nepal. Considering its at times problematic relationships with Pakistan and China, fostering pro-India's sentiments of nearby countries was certainly an important reason for these investments suggest Walz and Ramachandran (2011). From the mid of the 1950s, India acted as a strong advocate of cooperation among developing countries, especially those that did not belong to the communist or capitalist block. India was one of the main initiators of the Bandung conference in 1955 and the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) in 1961 and the G77 in 1964. The main objective of these initiatives was to enhance the voice of developing countries in the global political arena, and to promote own solutions to development problems, without having to refer to the main power blocks of that time. The principles (see box) decided upon during the Bandung conference still live on in India's development cooperation.

The principles of the Non-Alignment Movement (from the final communiqué of the Asian-African conference of Bandung, see The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia 1955)

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers, abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligation.

2.1.2 From recipient to donor

The end of the Cold War and better relations with China and the USA in the 1990s, decreased the importance of the ideological discourse and emphasis on representing the poorer countries in India's foreign policy. Also in this decade India liberalised its economy and opened it up to foreign investors (Jerve & Selbervik, 2009). Importantly, all this time India received far more aid than it disbursed. Between 1955 and 1992 it accepted about US\$ 55 billion in foreign aid, making it the largest aid recipient in the world (GHSI, 2012). The main shift in its foreign policy occurred in 2003, when the country launched its Indian Development Initiative. The number of bilateral donors was brought back to six (*i.e.* the USA, the UK, Japan, Germany, Russia and the EU), and India started to repay its debts to 15 countries and multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. India's economic growth and its intention to become a global political player made the country decide to pursue a change from net recipient to net donor of aid. It saw development cooperation (again) as an important lever to gain economic and political power. However, the bulk (up to two thirds of its budget) was invested in the promotion of India as an attractive foreign investor. Due to a different view about its objectives, a new government already abolished the initiative the following year – although the willingness to become a donor remained (Kragelund, 2008). In recent years, India's development cooperation diversified in geographical scope, as well as in modalities and sectors (Chaturvedi, 2012b).

2.1.3 Between ethical principles and self-interests

As with the western donors and the other countries in this study, the governmental discourse might obscure the real motivations for India's involvement in development cooperation. India rejects the terminology and approach used by the traditional (*i.e.* DAC) donor community in its discourse. It refrains from using vocabulary such as donor, or ODA, and instead sees itself as a development partner (Chaturvedi, 2012a). Central in its discourse are the Bandung Principles of 1955. In its current policy declaration, India emphasises the importance of altruism and global responsibility, mutual benefit, friendship and cooperation between countries (Jerve & Selbervik, 2009). Jerve and Selbervik (2009) assert that national self-interests primarily guide India's development cooperation policy. This claim is supported by the observation that India is indeed very open and explicit about linking its policy objectives to its national interests. These interests include gaining political and economic power on the international level, and more specifically obtaining a seat in the UN Security Council. The growing global importance of its neighbour, China, accompanied by China's renewed interest in Africa, might also be an explanatory factor, according to Kragelund (2010). Development cooperation should therefore be seen as an instrument of India's foreign policy - a statement that the government itself is rather explicit to confirm.

Jerve and Selbervik (2009) point at the duality in its role as a donor and a recipient. India has signed the Paris Declaration as a recipient but not as a donor. While India stresses the importance of donor coordination for its incoming assistance (*e.g.* the reduction to six bilateral donors), its outgoing assistance does not reflect this same concern. Furthermore, the country supports democracy in other countries by giving cooperation and advice in the organisation of elections, albeit it believes in non-interference and respect for other countries' sovereignty. According to Chanana (2010), India's aid might be unconditional, but it is tied.

2.2 Actors

2.2.1 *Institutional fragmentation and institutional development*

In recent years, the institutional organisation of India's development cooperation was characterised by subsequent rearrangements without consistency. In 2005 for instance a Development Partnership Division was created, which later merged with the Technical Cooperation Division, while the government announced in 2007 to set up the India International Development Cooperation Agency (IIDCA) which should coordinate most of India's international cooperation. However, the IIDCA never saw the light. This confusion was detrimental for the planning and the delivery of development cooperation. Thus, India's system is still characterised by its fragmentation. The country does not have an overarching development cooperation policy as a donor, nor unified legislation or clear goals and objectives. This is in stark contrast to its role as an aid recipient (Jerve & Selbervik, 2009). Several ministries play a role in the development of aspects of its development assistance and coordination between these agencies is limited. Efforts are made to better coordinate its assistance and in a renewed effort the government has set up the Development Assistance Partnership within the Ministry of External Affairs in 2012 (Chaturvedi, 2012a). But the main institution for the development of India's foreign assistance is still the Ministry of External (or Foreign) Affairs. This can be explained by the fact that India regards development assistance as an extension of its foreign policy (GHSI, 2012). The Ministry of External Affairs is in charge of extending bilateral aid and technical assistance (Chaturvedi, 2012b).

The Department of Economic Affairs within the Ministry of Finance is responsible for the disbursement of the actual aid, but usually it carries out the recommendations of the Ministry of External Affairs. Jerve and Selbervik (2009) note that there is no sign of great diverging views on foreign assistance between both agencies.

The Ministry of Commerce is in charge of providing the concessional lines of credit, but these are supervised by the Ministry of External Affairs. Other Ministries, such as those of Water and Resources, and of Agriculture, also provide funds (Jerve & Selbervik, 2009). The Exim Bank is the lead financial institutions for financing, facilitating and promoting India's international trade. The administration of the disbursed aid is done by India's embassies and high commissions abroad, however they have no mandate to allocate funds.

An important unit within the MEA is the Indian Technical Cooperation (ITEC). This was launched in 1964 and is maybe the most known actor in India's development cooperation. It mainly provides technical assistance and training, more specifically the training in India of students and personnel for partner countries, study tours and project related activities (Agrawal, 2007). However, Chaturvedi (2012a) notes that it has weak links with other departments within the Ministry of External Affairs and Ministry of Finance. According to the author, ITEC's role in the current evolution in India's foreign assistance programme is limited, despite its long term capacity and competence (see also below).

The MEA also supervises the Indian Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR). The ICCR is in charge of cultural exchange projects between for instance students and teachers.

2.2.2 The central role of the private sector

As Chanana (2010) writes, India 'never appears alone'. The public sector often collaborates with the private sector in development cooperation. This can be explained by the strong links between development cooperation and India's trade and investment policies, aimed at opening up new markets. In return developing partners get technical cooperation or financial resources. India's foreign policy focuses amongst other on stimulating trade and investments with and in Africa. To promote and facilitate trade with Africa, the Indian government has established an information hub on trade in Africa, (see <http://focusafrica.gov.in>). Main sectors include natural resource extraction and infrastructure building. Recently, state owned (e.g. Rites and Ircon) and private companies (e.g. Tata Group and Mittal Steel) are entering other sectors, such as steel mining, transport, banking, and pharmaceutical production. The government acts as a facilitator by giving credit via the Exim Bank and lifting regulation and controls on firms abroad. In health, the pharmaceutical industry plays a very important role (Chaturvedi, 2011). For instance, according to GHSI (2012), Indian manufacturers provided 80% of all donor-funded HIV/AIDS therapies in developing countries and between 60% and 80% of all vaccines procured by the UN. Secondly, they also have an impact on international rules and regulations regarding Intellectual Property (IP). However, in the longer run, it could also turn out that IP regulations on HIV/AIDS drugs would be strengthened as a result of India-EU discussions.

According to Travnicek (2012), India is one of the main investors in agricultural land in Africa. On the one hand this can be explained by India's quest for arable land to feed its growing population. India is dependent on food imports at the moment. On the other hand, it also provides opportunities for Indian companies. According to the Land Matrix Database (cited by Travnicek, 2012), India holds some 4.5 million hectares of land in Africa, most of which are located in East Africa. In Ethiopia alone for instance, 80 Indian companies might be involved. The Indian government facilitates this by the credit lines of the Exim Bank, conducive legislation, and diplomacy and meetings. The Ministry of Agriculture plays an important role in this (Rowden, 2011).

2.2.3 The absence of the NGO sector

Interestingly, the NGO sector is not yet strongly involved in development cooperation, according to Jerve and Selbervik (2009). There are almost no NGOs that scrutinise India's development policies and only few or anecdotal evidence of Indian NGOs venturing into other development countries (see for instance IANS, 2012). The development cooperation of the government does not channel its aid through NGOs, except the Red Cross in cases of disaster relief (Price, 2005).

2.3 Modalities, instruments and thematic areas

2.3.1 Despite intentions, India is still a net recipient of aid

It is difficult to determine India's development assistance budget, since there is no systematic reporting of its figures and the figures that are reported are incomplete. Furthermore aid and other cooperation flows are often blended together. Kragelund (2008) mentions a figure of US\$ 1.48 billion in 2007, while GHSI (2012) concludes foreign assistance grew from US\$ 443 million in 2004 to US\$ 680 million in 2010. The Global Humanitarian Assistance website mentions a comparable figure of US\$ 639 million for the same year. This does not include the lines of credit offered by

the Exim Bank, albeit credit lines are regarded as one of the main instruments of India's development cooperation. According to Chaturvedi (2012b), the Indian government committed about US\$ 7.7 billion for these credit lines in 2012. Despite India's intention to become a net donor of aid, its incoming assistance is still several times higher, and stood at US\$ 2.8 billion in 2010 according to the same website.⁴ Again, specific sector-information on health and AFS is missing.

2.3.2 Development cooperation primarily via credit lines and bilateral cooperation

Indian development cooperation encompasses primarily lines of credit with subsidised interest rates, soft loans, grants, contributions to international organisations and technical cooperation (GHSI, 2012). The first and in monetary terms by far the most important are the credit lines. The Export-Import (Exim) Bank is the main institution for distribution of these credits. According to Chaturvedi (2012b), the lines of credit have facilitated industrial competitiveness and improved infrastructure. Importantly, the Exim Bank does not determine any content of the borrowing countries. Most of the supported projects are within the sectors of energy, railway and construction. Sugar production takes up 9% of the credit lines and agricultural and irrigation 8%.

The second instrument that India employs is grants. As Chanana (2010) argues, the country cannot afford to give very large grants. Grants have been used to finance a range of activities, incl. technical cooperation, scholarships and goods and medicines. In recent years there has been an increased attention for region-wide infrastructure projects, such as the Pan African e-network (see further) (Chaturvedi, 2012b).

In the early decades of the Cold War, India was a very active promoter of multilateral cooperation - especially between countries of the Third World. To a certain extent this engagement still continues to this day. India participates actively in many of the international organisations and it does not question the need or the utility of them. However, it does criticise strongly the dominance of the western countries in these institutions and tries to expand its own influence (Chaturvedi, 2012b). It still participates in the UN organisations, but is increasingly looking for cooperation with the other BRICS countries. According to figures cited by GHSI (2012), India committed about US\$ 1.4 billion to international finance institutions such as the African and Asian Development Banks. In health it is limited to small contributions to the Global Fund, UNICEF and UNFPA (Chaturvedi, 2012b; GHSI, 2012). In the last ten years, commitments are much lower. In fact most of India's cooperation is bilateral. This allows India's development cooperation policy to be demand driven and to focus on the promotion of India's private sector involvement (see further). The government reacts to calls from recipient countries, instead of pro-actively sending out requests for proposals.

2.3.3 ... and its technical cooperation is reknown

India had concluded from its own experience after independence that lack of skills was an important obstacle to development. Therefore India's cooperation had a strong focus on skills development. This commitment materialised in the Indian Technical Cooperation (ITEC) in 1964 and in participation in international skill development programmes, such as the Colombo Plan, and the special Commonwealth for Africa programme. Since 1964, ITEC has provided US\$ 2 billion of technical cooperation

⁴ See www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org

through ITEC. Although in absolute figures the amount has increased, the share of ITEC activities in the total of development cooperation has decreased in the last decade. Nevertheless, in 15 years' time the number of ITEC trainees grew from about 400 to more than 2000. About 44% comes from Africa. ITEC has the following components: training of nominees of ITEC in India (esp. in technology, investment and trade); project-based cooperation, incl. consultancy; deputation of Indians abroad; study tours to India (Chaturvedi, 2012b).

2.3.4 Agriculture and ICT among most important sectors

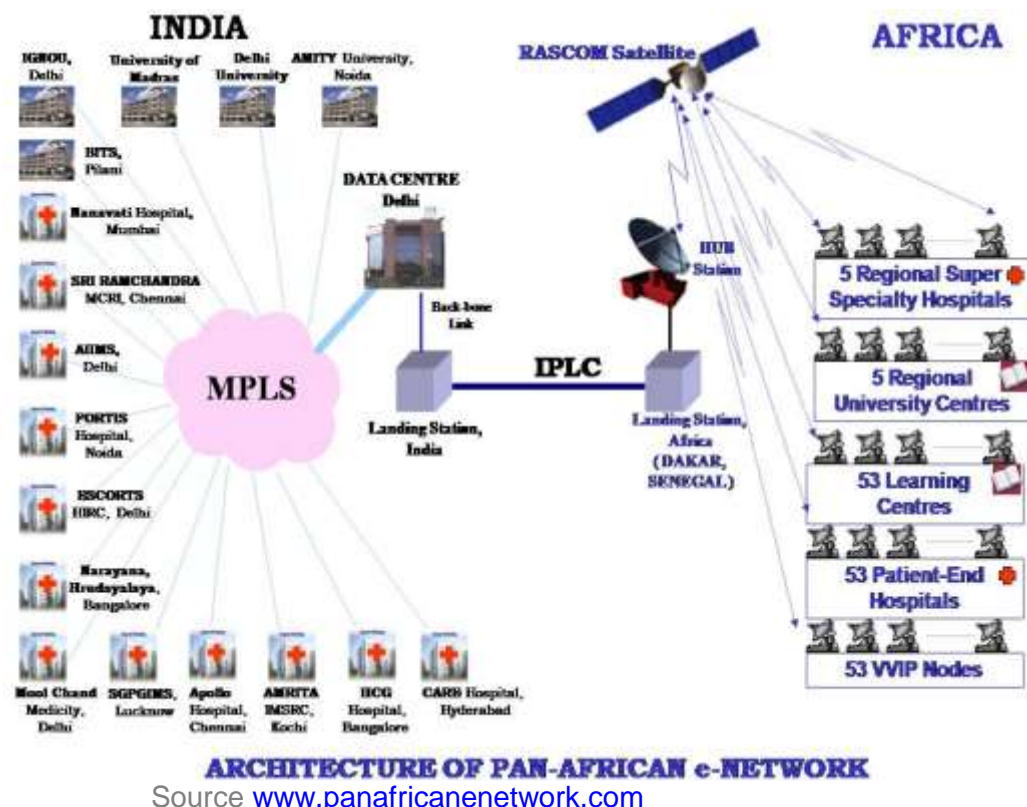
Robust figures about India's cooperation for specific sectors are difficult to obtain. The literature does not seem in agreement about the main focus areas of the Indian development cooperation. This might be explained by the fragmentation of its cooperation, the absence of a coordinating body and the blurring of the boundaries between foreign assistance and foreign policy. There is agreement about the importance of infrastructure provision, economic sectors (trade, industry), the IT and science sectors as well as agriculture.

Within agricultural policy and research, India is often regarded as a country that can share its experiences of its green revolution with other (and especially African) regions. Elements include specific equipment, irrigation methods, seed varieties or farming methods. However, from the literature it is not clear to what extent Indian governmental agricultural assistance is implementing concrete programmes or projects (Kujita, 2011; Brown, 2013). The AidData base⁵ lists in total 12 different assistance projects or programmes between 2005 and 2010. These range from the provision of equipment such tractors or pesticide to larger rice cultivation and food processing projects involving up to US\$ 36 million - although more info is not provided. Next India provides regularly food assistance (up to US\$ 50 million), but mainly to neighbouring countries.

One of the main projects of the last years has been the development of the Pan African e-Network (see Figure 2.1). This collaborative project between the African Union and the Indian government was launched in 2009 and intends to connect hospitals and universities of the 53 members of the AU with similar institutions in India via a satellite and fibre optic network. India provides a grant of US\$ 117 million to implement and finalise the project in the following years (Roy, 2012).

⁵ <http://www.aiddata.org/content/index/data-search/#1f0127fb274c1a54d02cde46145748ae>, consulted in June 2013.

Figure 2.1 Indian Pan-African e-network architecture



Health is but a relatively small sector within India's governmental development cooperation activities. Besides the fact that the Indian government prefers to focus on 'hard developmental' sectors, this might also be explained by the country's own domestic health challenges. However, some successes in this field especially tropical medicine and infectious diseases, public health, training and research and development might provide interesting lessons for other countries. Hence, the health sector's importance in India's development cooperation policies might increase in the future (GHSI, 2012). GHSI (2012) states that the country has pledged at least US\$ 100 million to bilateral health projects. Most of these projects represent relatively small budgets (between US\$ 20,000 and US\$ 5 million) in comparison to the financed projects in other sectors. India provides mainly health infrastructure, such as the construction or renovation of hospitals, and medical supplies and equipment, for instance medicines, diagnostics, ambulances.⁶ It also delivers capacity building by establishing medical colleges and providing faculty support. At the moment this kind of support seems limited to India's neighbouring countries. On a very small scale, India sends out medical missions to Afghanistan and Africa.

2.3.5 Research and development and the potential of frugal innovation

Broader and even more cutting edges are the initiatives regarding frugal innovation (low cost solutions for development al problems) in which India is a forerunner. India's technology is supposedly more adapted to African living conditions than that of the

⁶ See also www.aiddata.org for a list.

DAC countries (Bound & Thornton, 2012). These initiatives include collaborations between health services, the IT sector and the mobile phone industry. Several private hospitals have engaged themselves in developing frugal innovative solutions and sharing these with other institutions abroad. For instance, the largest ophthalmological organisation in the world, the Aravind Eye Hospital provides technical cooperation to Chinese and Egyptian institutions (GHSI, 2012). It has a long history of providing eye care in India at subsidised rates for the poor. According to Chaturvedi and Thorsteinsdóttir (2012) it has performed over 3.6 million surgeries and 29 million visits to patient. In collaboration with the Bangladeshi Grameen bank, it is reaching out to Rwanda and Eritrea.

Arguably the most important activities for global health focus on the promotion of the development of drugs and innovative health instruments and biotechnology by governmental and private research institutions. In first instance these are directed on tackling domestic health challenges, but in the mid-term these solutions will also be useful for other countries. For instance, India participates through the India, Brazil, South Africa forum (IBSA) in researches on ARV and TB vaccines. The drug manufacturer Lupin Ltd, works together with Farmanguinhos and the Brazilian Ministry of Health to develop and introduce TB drugs (GHSI, 2012).

2.3.6 Increased attention for Africa

Although rather small in the beginning, India started to provide aid outside of South Asia, especially to Africa. According to Kragelund (2008) this decision should also be seen as a response to China's increasing involvement in Africa in that period. Neighbouring countries (Bhutan, Afghanistan, Nepal) are still the foci of India's cooperation. Together with other Asian countries they receive up to 85% of India's cooperation (Walz & Ramachandran, 2010). The remainder goes to Africa. In 2008, India organised the India-Africa summit in Delhi. Fourteen African countries participated in this summit which was aimed at strengthening partnerships in energy trade and cooperation, as well as on climate change, UN reform and combating terrorism. The summit resulted in the Delhi Declaration and the Framework for Cooperation. These documents identified the major areas for cooperation, including agriculture, food security and health. At the second summit held in Addis-Abeba in Ethiopia three years later. The Indian government pledged an additional US\$ 500 million to the already promised US\$ 5.4 billion in aid. Trade was intended to grow from US\$ 45 billion in 2011 to US\$ 70 billion in 2015 (Roy, 2012).

3. CHINA

3.1 Historic evolution and principles

3.1.1 *China: between myths and facts*

China⁷ has received by far most of the attention in the debate on non-DAC development donors. Often the claims made about the involvement of (re-)emerging donors can be brought back to concerns about China. And 'concerns' is indeed the appropriate word here, because the emergence of China in the world economy has been looked upon with suspicion by western media and policy makers. This is also the case in the field of development cooperation. Alden (2007) concludes that especially two negative narratives about China exist: as a colonizer and as an economic competitor. Large deals involving an exchange of natural resources for infrastructure works between African governments and China - for instance the US\$ 9.25 billion agreement between China and the DRC in 2008 (Pollet, 2011) - have only fuelled this negative publicity. A third more positive narrative also emerged: namely China as a development partner - in which China acts as an example for developing countries (Alden, 2007; Buckley, 2013).

In addition, some of the literature on China's development cooperation is based on very partial and/or misinterpreted information. This was convincingly demonstrated by the American professor Deborah Brautigam in her seminal book 'The Dragon's Gift' (Brautigam, 2009) and her blog with the meaningful title 'China in Africa: the Real Story'. Brautigam also emphasised the difficulty of finding robust information about China's policies and practices (2011a: 203): 'China's development aid to Africa has increased rapidly, yet this might be the only fact on which we have widespread agreement when it comes to Chinese aid. Analysts disagree about the nature of China's official development aid, the countries that are its main recipients, the reasons for providing aid, the quantity of official aid, and its impact.' As with Brazil agricultural and health assistance are an integral part of China's development cooperation policy and history.

3.1.2 *China a fore runner of South-South cooperation: eight principles*

China's development cooperation programme can be traced back to the 1950s (Chin & Frolic, 2008). In a first period, spanning roughly three decades, China's foreign assistance policies as they were communicated by chairman Mao and premier Zhou Enlai were guided by two objectives, according to Zhou (2012). Firstly, the government supported countries to become economic and political independent from the western block and to develop their own national economies. This featured in the emergence of the Non-Alignment Movement, and in the socialist international ideology. Secondly, via foreign assistance, China was pursuing its own national economic and political interests. Especially, when in the beginning of the 1960s the diplomatic, economic and trade relations with the USSR were reduced to a minimum, and the Soviet-Union withdrew its assistance to China. Furthermore, development cooperation was seen as an instrument in China's struggle with Chinese Taipei/Taiwan for recognition. In fact recognition of the PR China as sole representative of China is also said to be the only condition for countries to receive assistance from the PR China. Consequently, China

⁷ In this paper 'China' refers to the People's Republic of China (PR China or PRC).

set up cooperation projects with almost all African countries - although for some countries the assistance was discontinued for periods of time, because they switched their diplomatic relationships momentarily to Chinese Taipei (Bautigam, 2009; 2010; 2011a). Four years later, in 1964, Zhou-Enlai proclaimed its eight principles of economic aid and technical to foreign countries. Summarised they include equality, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty, use of grants and zero interest loans, easy rescheduling, emphasis on building self-reliance, respect for obligations, the same standard of living for experts dispatched by China and local experts. Clearly, non-interference and non-conditionality are central issues. These guidelines still govern the development cooperation policy in all areas of China today (Pollet, 2011; Alden & Large, 2010). These principles are also a major source of inspiration for other countries of the South. From her discourse analysis Buckley (2013) concludes that the Chinese discourse tends to focus on the inequalities of trade and inefficiencies of post-colonial aid, resulting in a radically different, *i.e.* more equal, win-win and mutual trust, relationship with African countries.

Typically, cooperation included Chinese equipment and materials and was geared towards productive investments. Infrastructure projects have always been the main focus of Chinese aid, with the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway as most prominent example (Pollet, 2011). A typical feature of Chinese assistance included the sending of medical teams to provide basic health care services (Anshan, 2011). Agriculture featured high on the list. China concentrated in the 1960s on the construction of large state-owned farms, mirroring the Chinese experiences (Brautigam & Tang, 2009). The assistance from China to Africa reached a first high in the 1970s. Between 1971 and 1975 it demonstrated levels of 6 to 7% of the national budget (Zhou, 2012). The fact that China regained its seat in the UN from Chinese Taipei, was instrumental in this evolution. China took over the projects of Chinese Taipei and this changed Chinese agricultural assistance into smaller projects, focusing on demonstration and extension, and supporting African smallholders instead of state production (Brautigam & Tang, 2009). At the same time, Japan and China initiated trade relationships. In essence, Japan offered its expertise and technology, and finance turnkey projects in exchange for natural resources. Interestingly, this would later on form the blueprint for China's own trade and aid relationships with African countries (Brautigam, 2011a). By 1985, China supported agricultural project in 35 countries (25 in Africa), representing 48,000 hectares of farmland, and up until the 1990s the competition with Taiwan remained one of the main driving forces for this engagement (Brautigam & Tang, 2009).

3.1.3 Towards efficiency and economic gains

With the accession of Deng Xiaoping to power, China's development assistance entered a new phase (Zhou, 2012). The Open Door policy, started in 1978, commenced the transition to a market economy and would eventually gear China's development cooperation and institutional architecture in new directions (Brautigam, 2011a). It became evident that the projects needed continuous support from China in order to survive. For instance, recent studies of the World Bank showed that about half of its rural African development projects had failed (Brautigam & Tang, 2009). China did not want to give up this support (because of the competition with Taiwan), but needed to gain some added value for their own economy. So, the Chinese continued to ensure the functioning of existing infrastructure projects, through reparation and reconstruction efforts, but looked also for ways to ensure that also China's economy benefitted from its development cooperation investments. The eight principles were still

recognised as the core of the development assistance policies, but the focus shifted towards efficiency and seeking practical results (Zhou, 2012). The medical health teams for instance, stopped to be free of charge and aid figures dropped significantly (Huang, 2011). Instead of production, China started to invest in visible landmark projects, such as conference centres, stadiums; but at the same time smaller projects targeting the improvement of living conditions took the place of other large projects (Zhou, 2012).

By the end of the 1990s, China's economic growth and its emergence as a global political and economic power resulted in the launch of the 'going global strategy'. Besides diplomacy, assistance would increasingly be framed in a mutual benefits discourse. The strategy entailed that a number of the most promising enterprises were singled out to become global multinationals; a focus on high value technology and export of services; and increasing investments of Chinese enterprises abroad. This paralleled the introduction of new financial instruments and institutions, such as equity funds (e.g. the China-Africa Development Fund of the China Development Bank), non-concessional loans, and a mix of market-rate and preferential export buyer credits (Brautigam & Tang, 2009).

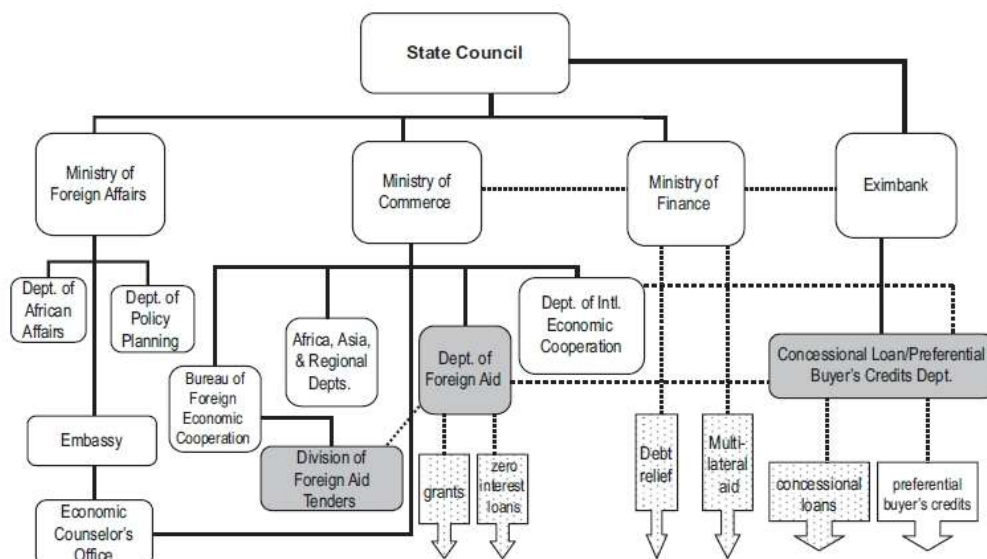
3.2 Actors

3.2.1 Centralised system

Foreign assistance in China has been and still is highly centralised. In 1960, the Chinese government set up an aid office, directly under the supervision of the State Council. The assistance policies were made up by the Central Council and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, while sector-specific ministries and commissions were responsible for its implementation and management. Furthermore, in 1971 it was decided that all provinces and the big municipalities would establish offices of economic and technical cooperation. For instance, the Ministry of Health managed the sending out of medical teams (for a long time the most important feature of China's health assistance). These were organised in such a way that one Chinese province would send out a team to one specific African country (Li, 2011). For instance Sichuan twinned with Mozambique (Brautigam, 2009). In the 1980s, the Department of Foreign Aid was established within a new and larger Ministry responsible for economic relations and trade, which later became known as the Ministry of Commerce. The Department of Foreign Aid of the Ministry of Commerce is still in charge of the assistance program and cooperates with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although development cooperation projects and funding are also carried out by a variety of different governmental actors (see Figure 3.1). The Department of Foreign Aid gives out grants and zero-interest loans, and coordinates the youth volunteer programme, as well as the technical assistance. It is 'unbelievably small', as Brautigam (2009: 109) notes, with a staff of about hundred in thirteen different divisions. It coordinates with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance and the Export-Import Bank (Exim Bank). The latter oversees the assessment of projects with concessional loans, and the allocation and recovery of loans. The Ministry of Commerce can ask for assistance from the regional and local branches and it coordinates with specialised ministries for specific topics. Each ministry (also those of health and agriculture) has an international office. The concrete management and coordination of projects is carried out by the Chinese embassies or consulates. These economic sections of the Chinese embassies assign one or two people for management of assistance projects (only Chinese nationals).

These are known as the Economic and Commercial counsellor's offices (Brautigam, 2011a).

Figure 3.1 Institutional structure of China's development assistance



Source Brautigam, 2009: 108

In 2011 China's State Council issued a White Paper on Foreign Aid. This extensive paper explains the management, resources, modalities and objectives of its policy. It illustrates the growing importance of China's foreign aid program, and it countered critics of the country's limited transparency about its policies. Chinese development cooperation is still based on the eight principles of the Beijing consensus, but - as demonstrated in earlier in this chapter, efficiency, and economic self-interest have gained prominence, and Brautigam (2011a) argues that Chinese assistance is primarily driven by its diplomatic needs.

3.3 Modalities, instruments and thematic areas

3.3.1 Non conditionality

The issue of (non-)interference and (non-)conditionality and the stance of China on this has received a lot of attention in the development cooperation world (see for instance Brautigam, 2011a). According to critics, the Chinese approach would inhibit democratic and governance changes in aid-receiving countries. Zhang & Li (2011) demonstrate the differing interpretations and perceptions between China and a DAC-donor, *i.e.* the EU, about conditions or their absence and their supposed benefits in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 The difference between Chinese and EU perceptions of the EU and China's aid policies

	China's perception	The EU's perception
About conditionality in the EU's aid policy	Due to the imbalance between donors and recipients, conditionality means interference in domestic politics in the recipient countries; These conditions may impede the independent development of African countries because they are not suited to the reality of African countries; These conditionalities are the policy tools used by the EU to promote its human rights and its developmental model; These conditionalities also lie at the root of the unequal bilateral relations between the EU and African countries.	The aim of these conditionalities is to promote and facilitate reforms in the recipient countries; These conditions are intended to support the sustainable development of African countries; These conditionalities are based on equal negotiation and are not imposed by EU.
About unconditionally in China's aid policy	Unconditionality reflects China's respect for recipient countries, which may form a basis for effective aid; Unconditionality is the only way to ensure the independent and sustainable development of recipient countries; Unconditionality is the prerequisite of African democracy; the process of democratisation can only be driven by internal forces.	Unconditionality upsets EU's efforts towards good governance in Africa; Unconditionality supports African dictatorships; Unconditionality delays reform and development processes in African countries; Unconditionality is only for China's economic and political interests.

Source Zhang & Li, 2011: 89-90

3.3.2 China's large budget is often overestimated

Several authors have tried to give an overview of China's official development finance and disentangle the different financial flows of its development cooperation (Brautigam, 2001a; Grimm, 2001; Chin, 2012). In essence, the bulk of China's development cooperation to Africa is not funded through ODA, but via other official flows. This is the opposite from DAC countries. Chinese ODA entails grants, zero-interest loans and concessional loans. Brautigam (2011a) concluded that in 2008, the country disbursed probably about US\$ 1.2 billion ODA in Africa and 1.4 billion in 2009. The total for all regions would be US\$ 3.1 billion in 2008. The Global Humanitarian Assistance website gives an estimate of US\$ 2 billion for 2010. This is much lower than some estimates of other researchers, but this is due to the blurring and blending of development finance data. Wrong assumptions (according to Brautigam, 2011a) gave way to an overestimation of China's aid - even up to US\$ 17.6 billion for Africa in 2007. In 2011 grants would still make up 40% of China's ODA. Since 1995, China committed concessional loans to 325 projects (142 completed) in 76 countries. The majority of the supported projects were in (economic) infrastructure, followed by industry, energy and resource development, agriculture and to a lesser extent health care. According to Leung (2010, cited in Mawdsley, 2012), China has supported or funded since 1960 agricultural projects in 44 African countries and one in five turnkey projects were in this sector (Brautigam, 2011a).

3.3.3 Growing significance of Africa

Africa gained prominence in China's foreign policy and in trade relations (Eisenman, 2012). Although it might be even more correct to note that it was always an important partner region of China, but that in the 2000s finally the western countries took notice of this (Pollet, 2011). A diplomatic surge started in the 2000 with a series of diplomatic visits and organisations of meetings (the High Level Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)) in Beijing (2000, 2006 and 2012), Addis Ababa (2003) and Sharm-el-Sjeik (2009) (Li, Liu *et al.*, 2012). Specifically for health, China organises

roundtable with government representatives from African countries, *i.e.* the China-Africa health Cooperation roundtables. A taskforce comprised of Chinese government officials and technical institutions and supported by several multilateral institutions, including the WHO, UNFPA and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. The most recent one was in Botswana, the China Chamber of Commerce and the Institute of Global Health of Beijing University. The objective is to support local production of health products and share expertise on HIV/AIDS (Ventures Africa, 2013 & Li, 2013).

3.3.4 The different modalities of Chinese assistance

China's development assistance takes eight different forms. Typically in all of them is that its assistance is informed by China's own experiences in overcoming developmental challenges (Buckley, 2013). The pledges made at the last FOCAC forum regarding 'agriculture and food security' and 'health and medical care and public health' are listed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Pledged actions regarding agriculture and medical care and public health made by China in the Beijing Action Plan (2012-2015) presented at the FOCAC Forum in 2012

Sections	Pledges
4.1.3	Support of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Program (CAADP)
4.1.4	Send teams to train African agricultural technicians
4.1.4	Support agricultural vocational education system and send teachers
4.1.4 & 5.2.1	& build more agriculture demonstration centres
4.1.4	Provide technical support for grain planting, storage, processing and circulation
4.1.4 & 4.5.6	Encourage Chinese financial institutions to support corporate cooperation in planting processing, animal husbandry, fisheries and aquaculture
4.1.4	Support UNFAO 'Special Program for Food Security'
4.1.5 & 4.1.6	Facilitate access for African agricultural products to the Chinese market
4.5.2	US\$ 20 billion credit line for infrastructure, agriculture, manufacturing and African SMEs
5.2.2	Implement the 'African Talents Program'. In the next three years, China will train 30,000 African professionals in various sectors, offer 18,000 government scholarships and take measures to improve the content and quality of the training programs
5.5.2	Will step up high level exchanges in the health field and hold a China-Africa high-level health development workshop at an appropriate time
5.5.3	Expand their exchanges and cooperation in the prevention, treatment and port control of HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and other major communicable diseases, health personnel training, maternal and child health, health system building and public health policies
5.5.4	Continue to provide support to the medical facilities it has built in Africa to ensure their sustainable development and upgrade the modernisation level of the hospitals and laboratories

5.5.5	Continue to train doctors, nurses, public health workers and administrative personnel for African countries
5.5.6	Conduct the 'Brightness Action' campaign in Africa to provide free treatment for cataract patients
5.5.7	Continue to send medical teams to Africa. In this respect, it will send 1,500 medical workers to Africa in the next three years
6.3.6	Publish and translate agricultural technology materials; joint participation in book fairs in China & Africa

Source FOCAC, 2012; Buckley, 2013

The most visible are the 'complete projects'. These are mainly infrastructure works - also in health care and agriculture in which the Chinese develop, manage and implement the whole or part of the project. This includes the sending of technical personnel and equipment and material. Once the project is finished it is handed over to the partner country. 'Complete projects' account for 40% of China's assistance. The Government of the PR China (2011) claims to have assisted in the construction of over 2,000 projects by the end of 2009. China had funded the construction and equipment of more than 100 hospitals of which 54 in Africa. In addition it built pharmaceutical factories in three African countries and enlarged clean water supplies in nine (Brautigam, 2011b). The construction of farmland irrigation and water-conservancy projects is also mentioned in the White Paper.

The other seven forms include goods and materials, technical cooperation, human resource development cooperation, medical teams (see further), emergency humanitarian aid, volunteer programs in foreign countries and debt relief.

Medical teams are at the core of China's health assistance policy. Already from 1963 China sends out teams of 15 to 25 physicians, laboratory technicians and assistance. They provide free health care, and train local medical staff. This aid is certainly not limited to Africa, but is sent out to disaster struck areas. In 2009 for instance, China sent out 2,100 medical workers to 69 countries (GHSI, 2012). According to calculations of Li (2011) at least 20,000 medical team members of China have worked abroad and treated 240 million patients, primarily in Africa. As with the medical teams China also sends out agricultural teams, consisting of agro-technicians and senior agricultural experts. Unfortunately we do not have information on exact numbers. They offer consultations on rural development, and training agricultural personnel (PRC, 2011).

Capacity building does not only occur through the medical teams, but also via the provision of scholarships for students to study in China (GHSI, 2012). Topics for short term training programs (about a month) in health for instance include family planning, malaria treatment and prevention, traditional Chinese medicine. Training in agricultural issues is also offered in China. Between 2003 and 2008, more than 4,000 Africans participated in these courses (Brautigam, 2011b). At the UN High-Level Meeting on the Millennium Development Goals in 2010, China pledged to train a further 5,000 people.

To share Chinese experiences with African researchers and farmers, China is building more than 20 agricultural demonstration centres in Africa. These centres mix business and aid aspects. (Chichava *et al.*, 2013; Brautigam, 2011a). At the same UN High level meeting, China promised to build in total 30 centres in different development countries.

In addition to these centres, also farms and experiment and promotion stations of agro-technology are built (PRC, 2011).

Within health, China focuses specifically on malaria and reproductive health. For over three decades, China support malaria control programmes and efforts (Li; 2011). This is based on its own experience and on its own supply of artemisinin, a product derived from a plant which is used in anti-malaria medicines, and used. Important is also the approval of medicine by the WHO in 1993, resulting in the requirement of all Chinese medical teams to use this medicine. Malaria is also one of the key policy platforms within FOCAC. China even pledged about US\$ 100 million for 30 malaria treatment centres and other malaria programmes. According to GHSI (2012) these initiatives are not integrated within global programmes.

Reproductive health is another feature of China's health assistance. For this issue, China does participate actively in international initiatives, such as the Partners in Population and Development. More specifically, the country has donated reproductive health technologies and assistance in the building of family planning clinics (GHSI, 2012).

Moreover, China's research and development on medicines and control and prevention of infectious diseases is already an important domestic project, but it will increasingly impact on global health issues in the future (GHSI, 2012).

3.3.5 And the mixing of aid with other development modalities

Typically about Chinese development cooperation is the mixing of aid with other development cooperation modalities. This makes it very difficult to delineate exactly the aid efforts of China, and consequently gives rise to a lot of confusion about Chinese aid. China's bilateral aid is tied, in the sense that materials for projects that are funded through grants and zero-interest loans should be bought from a list of Chinese firms (Brautigam, 2011b).

Other official flows include credits to assist companies in buying Chinese goods, or Chinese companies to finance foreign sales, official loans at commercial rates, and strategic lines of credit to companies which the Chinese government deem to become multinationals. Figures on these flows are scarce, but according to Brautigam (2011a) it may add up to a commitment US\$ 10 billion to Africa in 2010 and strategic packages of US\$ 10 to 30 billion to multinationals. In the 1990s, three policy banks were set up to managed new financial instruments, such as equity funds (e.g. the China-Africa Development Fund of the China Development Bank), non-concessional loans, and a mix of market-rate and preferential export buyer credits. Importantly, these are not qualified as ODA, but some researchers have erroneously done so. In terms of management, Chinese companies set up joint ventures with African companies, created construction companies which could do contract work, and took up leases on their old projects (Brautigam & Tang, 2009; Gu, 2009; Zhou, 2012). In agriculture for instance, assistance with Africa became increasingly linked to agribusiness development (Mawdsley, 2012). Besides joint ventures, agro-technology demonstration centres, research facilities and training, agricultural elements of free trade zones were set up. Nevertheless, several authors (for instance Li *et al.*, 2012), argue that African countries can also benefit from the Chinese experience in sustaining and improving the

small holder agricultural systems. The Chinese government encourages agricultural investment in Africa and is offering specific incentives. This has also raised questions about land grabbing (Brautigam & Tang, 2009). China needs to feed about one fifth of the global population, while it only possesses 7% of the world's arable land. This conclusion together with China's interest in agriculture in Africa, has given rise to accusations of China grabbing land in African countries in order to cultivate and export the staples to feed its own populace. The debate is still ongoing, but it is marred by inadequate field data. For Mozambique, Ekman has for instance compiled information that does not uphold these accusations for the Mozambican context (Brautigam & Ekman, 2012; Ekman, 2012).

In health a shortlist of suppliers of domestic drugs and material was developed, and joint ventures of hospitals and pharmaceutical firms were created. The health assistance diversified in managing hospitals and delivering services, as well as promoting the export of China's pharmaceuticals (Huang, 2011). China is one of the main manufactures of drugs and vaccines. At the moment these are still mainly for the domestic market. In the future, the enterprises might be expanding their activities abroad, once they have tackled obstacle, such as the limited knowledge of the English language and international legislations. Some international organisations and foundations (incl. the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation) are assisting them in the process (GHSI, 2012).

3.3.6 Bilateral aid dominates, but first steps in trilateral assistance

China's assistance is mainly directed through bilateral channels. It does not give budget or sector support or hardly participates in donor coordination initiatives – although this seems to change. In health China concentrates on public health preparedness and disease surveillance (more specifically on influenza and emerging infectious diseases). Although most of its assistance is bilateral, the country also supports multilateral organisations, *i.c.* UNICEF and to a much lesser extent the Global Fund, UNFPA, UNAIDS. However, it is still a much larger receiver from these funds. Recently, China's relationships with the Global fund have deteriorated due to (supposedly) misappropriation of funds. In the WHO, China's influence and commitments are growing, especially since Margaret Chan (Hong Kong's director of health during the SARS outbreak in 2006) became Director-general of the institution in 2006, A position for which China has lobbied intensively. China is also stimulating the dialogue on tuberculosis, avian influenza and human influenza because of its own problems with the diseases. Notwithstanding this growing participation in multilateral organisations, most of its bilateral programs are still implemented in isolation from similar global efforts (GHSI, 2012).

The OECD-DAC has made efforts to coordinate and discuss development cooperation practices through the China-DAC study group, which brings together DAC donor agencies and China. Furthermore China has pledged or committed funds to various multilateral institutions and since 2005 it has exchanged with various international organisations. Tripartite cooperation programs are especially apparent in the agricultural sector. The most prominent example is the FAO's Special program on Food Security in Africa, which matches countries of the South who want to collaborate with other developing countries on food security. All three partners (the two countries and the FAO) share the costs (Mawdsley, 2012).

4. SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Historical evolution

4.1.1 The newest BICS on the block

Of the four countries in this study, South Africa's development cooperation architecture and policies are the most recent. Moreover, of the four countries it is by far the least active in health and agricultural assistance. The apartheid regime did assist other African countries to gain political support but its policies are markedly different from the current era. With the transition to democracy in 1994, the foreign and development cooperation policies had to be redeveloped. In fact, its development cooperation really took shape during Thabo Mbeki's presidency in 1999. President Thabo Mbeki launched the concept of African Renaissance, which entailed 'the reclamation of Africa's right to chart its own destiny, the promotion of political democracy, the eradication of neo-colonial relations, and the advancement of people centred economic growth and development'. The policy was clearly aimed at making South Africa the leading power on the African continent (Kragelund, 2010). A budget - the African Renaissance Fund (ARF) - was made free to implement projects pursuing this objective. The ARF was set up within the Department of Foreign Affairs, which in turn was replaced with the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) in 2009.

4.2 Actors

4.2.1 An institutional structure in evolution

South Africa's development cooperation policy is set out by the DIRCO. Besides the ARF, a variety of other governmental agencies and ministries financed and set up development assistance projects. To ameliorate the coordination and implementation of its development cooperation efforts, the government intends to set up a separate agency for development cooperation receiving policy direction from the DIRCO: the South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA). SADPA will manage an independent Partnership for Development Fund that will replace the African Renaissance Fund (Vickers, 2012). The SADPA will coordinate outgoing and incoming assistance.

Sidiropoulous (2012) notes that a variety of other actors run different development projects - including more than ten government departments, ministries, agencies and research institutes. In addition, development finance institutions are involved, such as Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) and the Industrial Development Cooperation (IDC). The DBSA funds projects in different sectors, incl. health, but mainly in infrastructure development in SADC countries. In 2001 it also established a new infrastructure trust fund of more than US\$ 100 million to support infrastructure development along Africa's North South axis. The IDC extended its mandate in 2001 to the whole of Africa and supports amongst other areas, health and agricultural projects. It has a collaboration with the Brazilian BNDES for a hydroelectric plant in Mozambique in 2008 and a hospital in Zambia.

South Africa invests in infrastructure through its state owned enterprises, such as Eskom (energy) and Transnet (transport), but it is not clear in how far the private sector is involved in South Africa's development assistance (Vickers, 2012). South Africa is

known for its strong civil society - although it is only marginally involved in development cooperation. Habib (2005, cited in Leys, 2008) divides this in three groups. A first consists of large formal NGOs. They work together with the government in policy formulation, implementation and service delivery. Some are also active abroad, esp. in other African countries. ACCORD and the Institute for Global Dialogue work on conflict prevention. A second group refers to activist social groups, often opposing the economic policies of the government. They have linked with other international movements, such as trade unions. The third group entails smaller organisations focusing on poverty alleviation of marginalised groups. They cannot be found abroad.

4.3 Principles, modalities, instruments and thematic areas

4.3.1 Ubuntu as guiding philosophy, but own interests are not forgotten

The DIRCO defines development cooperation 'as the cooperation between developing and developed countries in the field of aid, trade, security and politics to promote economic and social well-being in developing countries' (DIRCO, 2011). South Africa prefers the term development partner over aid donor. Several authors, such as Kragelund (2010) and Vickers (2012), argue that South Africa's development cooperation policy is an inherent part of its foreign policy and reflects solidarity and self-interest.

Since the end of the Apartheid, the foreign policy of the new ruling party, the ANC, reflected as well as gratitude for supporting the anti-apartheid struggle, as a moral obligation towards assisting other African countries. For instance, very rapidly after coming to power, the ANC cancelled the debt of Mozambique and Namibia. South Africa's government calls this the politics of Ubuntu. In the White Paper on Foreign Policy this concept is explained as follows: 'in the modern world of globalisation, a constant element is and has to be our common humanity. We therefore champion collaboration, cooperation and building partnerships over conflict. This recognition of our interconnectedness and interdependency, and the infusion of Ubuntu into the South African identity, shapes our foreign policy. The philosophy of Ubuntu means humanity and is reflected in the idea that we affirm our humanity when we affirm the humanity of others' (DIRCO, 2012: 4).

Mutual interest has become another core element of its policy. Some argued that South Africa's efforts did not benefit its own private sector or other interests. Despite a successful track record in for instance peace building, other countries seized the benefits afterwards (Vickers, 2012). South Africa's commitment to development cooperation might be endangered, as Leys (2008) asserts, by the country's own socio-economic challenges. Public support to address poverty and other socio-economic problems abroad might be low, as long as large inequalities exist in South Africa itself. Consequently, economic diplomacy has now gained ground in South Africa's foreign policy (Vickers, 2012).

The selection of projects and programmes is demand driven, reactive, and ad hoc, according to Vickers (2012). An advisory committee, consisting of members of the DIRCO, the National Treasury and the Department of Trade and industry recommends projects to the Ministers of International Relations and Cooperation and Finance. Nevertheless, there is no project management office nor methodology to select and

manage projects in order to achieve the main objectives of South Africa's foreign policy. Furthermore the coordination between the DIRCO and the National Treasury is haphazard according to the same author. The author continues his critique by mentioning that the monitoring and evaluation of projects and programmes is poor.

It is intended that the SADPA will address these problems and enhance the effectiveness of South Africa's development assistance policy. Within its new Strategic Plan 2013-2018, in which the establishment of SADPA is formalised, the DIRCO notes as main objective the promotion and protection of South Africa's national interests, as well as an engagement for multilateralism and continental and global development. Bilateral agreements and high level visits will form the main bases of cooperation. Specific attention is given to strengthening South-South relationships, especially in political and economic domains. The SADPA will not disburse loans, but will support South African financing institutions. Most probably the SADPA will focus on grants and technical assistance as modalities. The African Platform for Development Effectiveness will guide the policies. This was adopted at Busan in 2011, and moves the focus from aid to development effectiveness (Vickers, 2012).

In its rhetoric South Africa subscribes itself to international rules, democracy and human rights, however it does not place conditionalities on its assistance Leys (2008).

4.3.2 Peacekeeping and conflict prevention and regional integration are main foci

South Africa's intervention areas were clearly informed by its own transformation and democratisation processes. It wanted to share these experiences with other nations, but the range of supported projects and programmes is very wide-spread and reflects the lack of focus. The African Renaissance Fund provided mainly grants for interventions aiming at the following objectives (DIRCO, 2011):

- cooperation between South Africa and other countries;
- promoting democracy and good governance;
- preventing conflict and assisting with conflict resolution;
- socioeconomic development and integration;
- humanitarian assistance and disaster relief in Africa;
- technical assistance and capacity-building, specifically in terms of human resource development, management training and scholarships.

The focus on peace and conflict resolution is demonstrated in various ways. South Africa is the largest contributor to the African Union (AU) and hosts the Pan-African Parliament. Second, it has mediated in several African conflicts and participated and supported peacekeeping operations of the AU and the UN. Third, it has supported post-conflict reconstruction, electoral reform. Its support focuses thus mainly on institutional capacity building and governance, rather than infrastructure provision and building.

A second major focus is political and economic regional integration, most notably through the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and the Tripartite Free trade Area in Southern and Eastern Africa. South Africa also invests in infrastructure building through its state owned enterprises, such as Eskom (energy) and Transnet (transport), and development finance institutions, such as DBSA and

IDC. In addition, the Department of Trade and Industry has supported the Spatial Development Initiative from 1996 onwards. This model entails the development of geographic zones with economic potential. Mozambique is for instance one of the countries which will be targeted in the next years. Lastly, South Africa supports very large continental initiatives through the Presidential Infrastructure Championing Initiative (Vickers, 2012). Also at the global level the country emphasises the importance of participating in the global governance system, and its commitment to multilateralism and the UN-system (DIRCO, 2013).

4.3.3 Small budget

Due to the lack of a centralised accounting system it is difficult to determine the total budget for development cooperation. South Africa's development cooperation budget is increasing, but still remains small in comparison to other countries in our study. One estimate of Alden and le Pere (2010, cited in Vickers, 2012) placed South Africa's development cooperation in 2004 at US\$ 1.6 billion, but this is surely an overestimation, because it would imply that South Africa's aid would be higher than that of Brasil and India. GHSI (2012) gives a figure of 433 million, but also here it is not clear on what it is based. The Global Humanitarian Assistance website placed the outgoing aid at a mere US\$ 98 for 2010, representing a feeble 0.03% of GNI and about ten times less than its incoming assistance. Also in health South Africa receives much more than it gives out.

4.3.4 Limited focus in health and AFS

South Africa's main domestic health challenges, and esp. the HIV/AIDS problematic, prevent the country from investing heavily in foreign assistance. There is also no sufficient public support to redirect public funds abroad. Nevertheless, South Africa's government allocates limited bilateral and multilateral assistance. Due to the fragmentation of its aid policies, it is difficult to find data. Bilateral assistance is in ad hoc technical support on malaria control in for the SADC countries. Multilateral assistance is primarily to the GAVI alliance (US\$ 20 million in 20 years from 2006 onwards) and the Global Fund (US\$ 10 million between 2003-2007). Support amounts US\$ 10 to 20 million. Within IBSA, South Africa works together with India on research into vaccines against HIV/AIDS and TB (GHSI, 2012).

Despite the absence of a foreign assistance health policy, its own model of addressing the HIV/AIDS and TB challenges has significant influence for other countries dealing with similar problems, according to GHSI (2012). Especially research, advocacy and policy are areas in which South Africa stands out as model for other countries.

There is very little literature on specific assistance projects and programmes in other sectors. For agriculture we only found that the department of agriculture collaborates with other African countries on capacity building projects, often on phyto and sanitary measures (Braude *et al.*, 2008).

CONCLUSION

The objective of this paper was to provide insight in Brazil, India, China and South Africa's engagements and features in development cooperation in health and AFS based on the available written information sources. A first conclusion is that the BICS' involvement in these specific sectors is to a large extent embedded in their general development cooperation policies. Table 5.1 summarises therefore the main features (based on the info in the country studies) of the countries' development cooperation.

The BICS development cooperation shows a number of similarities and dissimilarities. First, the BICS are by no means a new actor in development cooperation, although their current involvement may differ significantly from that in previous decades. Secondly, the BICS development cooperation budget is not restricted to official development aid, but goes beyond this financial flow. Third, the institutional set-up of the BICS development cooperation is to a large extent still in evolution and involves a multitude of governmental actors. Fourth, the discourse of the BICS is markedly different from that of the OECD-donors (and moreover, the BICS do not consider themselves as donors). Fifth, the modalities and instruments do not only differ among the BICS, but also between the BICS and the OECD-donors in various ways. In the second research paper, these issues will be elaborated in more detail for the BICS and other non-DAC development actors in general.

Table 5.1 Main features of the development cooperation of the BICS

	Brazil	India	China	South Africa
Aid (in US\$) ⁸	Estimates range from 362 million (2009) to 1.2 billion (2010)	Estimates range from 639 million (2009) to 1.48 billion (2007)	Estimates range from 2 billion (2010) to 3.1 billion (2008)	Lot of confusion, estimates around US\$ 100 million
Governmental institutional structure (leading actor)	Fragmented and implementation carried out by sector specific actors (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Agência Brasileira do Cooperação)	Very fragmented and in process of change (Ministry of External Affairs)	Highly centralised structure and implementation decentralised. (Department of Foreign Aid of the Ministry of Commerce)	In process of change (DIRCO and in the future SADPA)
Principles	Solidarity, mutual benefit, demand driven, non-conditionality, non-interference, recognition of local expertise	Solidarity, mutual benefit	Equality, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty, non-conditionality, emphasis on building self-reliance, the same standard of living for experts dispatched by China and local experts	Solidarity, mutual benefit, 'Ubuntu'
Main financial instruments	Concessional loans and grants	Export credits, concessional loans and grants. Integration of commercial finance and aid	Grants, credit lines, interest free loans and concessional loans, but Other Official flow more important than ODA. Integration of commercial finance and aid	Grants and loans
Main modalities	Technical assistance, scholarships, humanitarian assistance, global advocacy	Scholarships, technical assistance, humanitarian assistance	'Complete projects', technical assistance, equipment, capacity building, emergency aid, volunteer programs	Projects, technical cooperation, humanitarian assistance
Main types of cooperation	Bilateral, multilateral and trilateral	Bilateral	Bilateral	Bilateral, multilateral trilateral
Country focus	Latin America and African countries (Lusophone in particular)	Neighbouring countries and Africa	Global, but increasingly Africa	Africa
Main sectors	Health, education, agriculture, social security	Agriculture, infrastructure, economic sectors and ICT	Infrastructure, productive sectors, agriculture, energy, health and agriculture	Post-conflict resolution, peace-building, regional integration

Source for specific references: see the country studies

Sector specific information on the BICS' development cooperation still shows important gaps, especially in committed or disbursed budgets. Moreover, South Africa is only partially engaged in the sectors, and for India the lack of data prevents a profound understanding of their involvement in the health and AFS (although also for Brazil and China information is not widespread). Table 5.2 summarises the findings for the sectors.

⁸ In brackets the year to which estimate refers to.

Table 5.2 Main features of the development cooperation in health and AFS of the BICS

	Brazil	India	China	South Africa
Aid disbursed for health and AFS	No information available on total budget for specific sectors for individual countries. Only partial information on specific projects, particular types of aid and pledged loans			
Leading governmental actors	Fragmented, but main actors are Ministry of External Affairs, ABC, and Ministry of Health and Fiocruz for health, and Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply and the Ministry of Agrarian Development and Embrapa	Not clear, though Ministry of External Affairs has important role	Centralised, Department of Foreign Aid of the Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Health and of Agriculture	DIRCO and in the future SADPA
Main modalities	Technical assistance, scholarships, research and development, trilateral cooperation projects, Export of domestic social programmes, global diplomacy	Lines of credit, concessional loans, scholarships	Complete projects, lines of credit, technical assistance (agricultural demonstration centres, medical and agricultural teams) concessional loans, scholarships, research and development	Infrastructure
Main domains in AFS	Agricultural production, agro-business, small scale farming, nutritional programs, cotton	Cotton, frugal innovation, ICT	Agricultural production, agro-business, small scale farming	
Main domains in health	Infrastructure provision (hospitals, pharmaceutical factories), HIV/AIDS, provision of medicines, public health, tobacco control	ICT, tele-medicine, frugal innovation, manufacturing and provision of drugs	Malaria control, reproductive health, manufacturing and provision of drugs	HIV/AIDS

Source for specific references: see the country studies

How the Non-DAC development partners and specifically Brazil, India, China and South Africa are supposedly challenging the 'traditional', *i.e.* DAC, donors, is the subject of the second research paper. The third and fourth research papers will attempt to fill some of the gaps in the sector specific knowledge, and will map the activities of the BICS in the health sector in Mozambique, and the AFS in Malawi. Contrary to the first two research papers, the information will not be entirely based on written sources but also on interviews carried out during field work in both countries.

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PARTNERS

Het Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies (www.globalgovernancestudies.eu) coördineert de derde generatie van het Steunpunt “Buitenlands beleid, internationaal ondernemen en ontwikkelingssamenwerking” voor de Vlaamse Regering. Een Steunpunt heeft als doel de wetenschappelijke ondersteuning van Vlaams beleid.

Het project brengt 17 promotoren en 10 junior onderzoekers (waarvan acht doctoraatsstudenten) samen. Het Steunpunt doet aan (a) dataverzameling en -analyse, (b) korte termijn beleidsondersteunend wetenschappelijk onderzoek, (c) fundamenteel wetenschappelijk onderzoek en (d) wetenschappelijke dienstverlening.

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Het onderzoek is verdeeld over vier thematische pijlers: (i) Internationaal en Europees Recht; (ii) Internationaal en Europees Beleid; (iii) Internationaal Ondernemen; en (iv) Ontwikkelingssamenwerking.

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